1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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plantations as casuals, and a number of them did so intermittently, returning to the village to sleep.

The excess of boys over adolescent girls is explained by the fact that many of the girls were living with their prospective relatives-in-law in other villages, while the brides of the boys wearing the *upi* remained with their own people till after the *watawutʃ*.

One man has four wives, one has three, and five have two. One of these is a boy still wearing the *upi*, whose 'wives'—they are spoken of as such although the marriage rites have not been completed—do not yet live in the village, but pay short visits only.

Leaving out the 25 boys wearing the *upi*, and 4 men who sleep with them in the *tobār*, there are 107 individuals (72 adults and 35 children) living in 27 huts. The majority of huts have 3 or 4 inhabitants. The largest number sleeping, habitually, in the same hut is 7, which happens in 3 cases. One hut has a solitary occupant, an old widow, whose children are all dead.

THE DAILY ROUND

The village day begins at sunrise, with a leisurely stroll, during which frequent halts are made to enjoy the morning sun. It is not often that we wake to rain; that comes generally later in the day. The women take a briefer stroll, return home, and begin to rake together the ashes of the fire, probably still hot from having smouldered through the night. Soon the native Mission teacher blows the conch-shell which is the signal for Mass, and those who feel so inclined make their way to the church. (The church is beside the road, hidden by trees from the village, hence it does not appear in the plan. The villagers had just finished its construction when I came to live among them.) On their return, the women uncover the ovens in which taro has meanwhile been roasting, or they may boil some instead, or, if there is any over from yesterday, it may be eaten cold, together with any bits of fish or other relish that may be available. The men come along presently, the children are called up, and every one eats, but not a large meal. If the village is by the sea, some families will take their meal on to the beach and eat it round a fire kindled there. Then the women collect the scraps and call the pigs, who come on hearing their names. All now sit about for awhile, gossiping and making arrangements for the day.

The women presently pick up their knives and packs (made of

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PREPARATIONS FOR THE *WATAWUTʃ*

881 The *watawutʃ* is considered by far the most important of the three ceremonies connected with the *upi*. It is looked forward to with great eagerness by everybody. In contrast to the *wapi*, it is held in the village, not in the bush, and there is no taboo on the presence of the women, which is, indeed, essential to its success. All the boys who went through the *wapi* ceremony together must attend the same *watawutʃ*. Not to be able to do so is considered a very great misfortune.

881 565 824 202 Several months before the ceremony, the *tsunaun* of the village in which it is to be held sends messengers to all the other villages in the group, carrying a number of strips of bamboo about 6 inches long, and a bunch of *win* leaves split into thin strands. A strip of bamboo is left with the *tsunaun* of each village, and one of the *win* strands at each house where there is in the family a boy wearing the *upi*. This is a sign that they must set aside a pig for the *watawutʃ* ceremony. Large areas of bush are cleared and planted with taro, which is also reserved for the *watawutʃ*. The women plant and tend this just as they do taro intended for everyday consumption.

881 346 621 313 824 When the time for the ceremony approaches, preparations are begun for building the 'long house' (*tobar tʃan*) for the novices. The *tsunaun* of the village in which the ceremony is to be held details certain portions of the structure to be provided by the various villages of the group. Special importance is attached to the *pa'i*, the horizontal ridge-poles supporting the roof. These must run the full length of the house, and it is no easy matter to find and bring in poles (consisting of the aerial roots of the banyan) of the required length. Those for the *tobar tʃan* at Kurtatchi, which were brought in while I was there, were provided by the [804] village of Tabut. A length of fibre string had previously been sent from Kurtatchi as an indication of the length required. They measured 65 ft. 8 in.[1] They are brought through the bush by the 881 313 824 *upi* boys themselves, assisted by the older men, both *amro* and *kwigin*. All the women must keep out of the way while this is being done. Marotɛ had promised to accompany me on a visit to Ruri on the day when the *pa'i* were brought, but when she heard this was

[1] For the ordinary dwelling-house the *pa'i* would measure not more than about 40 feet.

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them, and women, though they do not carry them, may see them without hindrance.

THE *WASIPSIP* CEREMONY

The *wasipsip* is considered the least important ceremony of the three. If it is convenient for some of the boys to remove their hats at any particular time after the holding of the *watawutʃ*, a *wasipsip* may be arranged for the benefit of a few, or even of one boy alone, if there is any special reason for doing so. Thus, for example, a boy who wishes to go and work as an indentured labourer will sometimes persuade the elders to hold a *wasipsip* for his benefit. But in the ordinary way, the boys who go through the other two ceremonies together also join for the third.

The boys must first spend a few days, perhaps ten, in the bush. This seclusion is called *wawilbĕ*, the same word as is applied to the seclusion before the *wapi*. They stay in the bush until noon on the day fixed for the ceremony. During this time they must not be seen by the women. Food is brought to them by the *kwigin*. At noon they come to the village and go inside a palisade enclosing a little *tobar*, specially made, just big enough to accommodate the number of initiates involved. The inside of this *tobar* is decorated with leaves, and strings of shell money. They remain there for the remainder of that day, and sleep there that night. At dawn next day they get up, and their hair is cut off by their *amro*, with a *kina* shell (a variety of *Cyrena*, having a very sharp edge). The hair is cut quite short, and is trimmed close to the head at the back and perpendicularly at the sides. The *amro* then paint the heads of the novices with the special pattern appropriate to the removal of the *upi* (described on p. 224). All the people *kōma*, and *mabu* are blown. For the *wasipsip* it is considered enough if there are two *mabu* only.

The *amro* take their charges on their shoulders, just as they did in the *watawutʃ* ceremony. No lime-pots or areca-nut boughs are carried, and the faces of the initiates are not painted as in the former ceremony. A few figures of men, women, and birds are carried round in front of them; these must be made afresh for this occasion, those used at the *watawutʃ* having been burnt.

When they have been once round, the boys get down from the shoulders of the *amro*, and go to the chief *tumaun*, who gives them water in coco-nut shells. This they must really drink, not pretend

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PLATE 30

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a. BOYS' DANCE

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b. BOYS OUTSIDE THEIR *TOBAR*

[facing p. 246]

the preparations boys and youths must bring food to the tâlohu and in part prepare it there also. For recreation they dance and sing. This mummery is used solely as a means for extorting all sorts of goods. Namely, the women are told that the spirit Kokorra is concealed in the garb; when they perceive this so-called "spirit," they hastily throw away anything that they happen to be carrying at the moment and run away as fast as possible. Naturally the men pick up the things that have been thrown away and regard them as their own. This activity is continued for a few weeks, during which time the men stay at the tâlohu, where, according to the women's opinion, they are serving the spirit Kokorra. 796

[11] In north Bougainville we find a very similar institution which is apparently an extension and perfection of the one just described. In Bougainville the practice is called rukruk, and sometimes also burri. The procedure is this: every now and then the older men select from friendly neighboring families a boy or youth who has not yet participated in rukruk. Chieftains generally choose more than one youth, but the number of the chosen rarely exceeds four. It is a particular honor to be chosen by a chieftain. After their election the chosen ones are called Matasesên, and, as such, they belong during the time of rukruk to the electors, who are called their Marau. The Marau leads his Matasesên to a remote spot in the woods where a spacious hut has been erected, which is called âhbassa; the place itself is the âhbassa burri. In the hut, which also serves the Marau and the Matasesên as a dormitory, are kept the balloon-shaped hats with which the Matasesên are outfitted. These hats, called hassebôu, are made by certain old men, and for each hassebôu the Marau pays the maker a string of hiruan, [see p. 58 ed.] spears, bows and arrows, etc. The Matasesên must now remain at the âhbassa burri until their hair grows so long that they can force it into the hassebôu and thus keep it on their heads. (1) As soon as this happens, the Matasesên can leave the place [346] [293]

1. Meyer and Parkinson, Papuatypen, Plate 31, shows a group of Matasesên.

and visit their relatives and villages; but they may never show themselves to women without the hat and must always return to the âhbassa in the evening. If they want to bathe, then they do this at night on the shore or in the daytime at remote spots in the mountain rivers. During the whole time the Matasesên work for their Marau; they lay